2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY

FOUNDED IN MEMORY OF
MARY KINGSLEY

CONTENTS OF VOL. XXVII.
1927–1928

LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO.

[Title Page]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

IL-TORŌBO

PART I

Being some Notes on the Various Types of *Dorobo*[1] found in the Masai Reserve of Tanganyika Territory and Contiguous Districts

The name Dorobo is a familiar one to almost every European in East Africa to-day. Nevertheless, beyond the fact that the Dorobo are commonly supposed to be a nomad tribe or clan of hunters living for the most part with, or near to the Masai, little would appear to be known about them. The Dorobo are referred to in many ethnical works of comparatively recent date, and they are mentioned in a number of books on African sport and travel, but I am unaware of any published work purporting to deal exclusively with these interesting people.

The following very incomplete notes on the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory have been compiled from various sources,[2] but mainly from discussions with the Dorobo themselves, throughout Tanganyika Masailand. My chief informant has been "Jumbe" Lekite of the Talamai[3] *Il-Mósiro*. The death of this intelligent old man in July, 1926, deprived me of much interesting information.

During three years spent amongst the Masai I have had better opportunities than most people of getting to know the Dorobo. The peculiar conditions obtaining in a Station such as Kibaya, isolated in the middle of a vast area populated almost entirely

[1] I have called them *Dorobo* throughout, though it may be that certain writers would prefer *Andorobo* or *Wandorobo*. I think it will be agreed that the latter, at any rate, is inadmissible. I have clung to the name without a prefix, as these notes look, perforce, at the Dorobo through Masai eyes and the Masai; *Ol-Torōbōni*, *Il-Torōbo*, when shorn of the article, is prefixless. The initial D has been substituted for T as being more customary to the European ear.

[2] The authority consulted is quoted in every case.

[3] Talamai (or "Kijungu," as it is called by the Wanguu and Wazigua of Handeni and also by the inhabitants of the small Bantu settlement thereat, mainly Wasukuma) is a range of hills to the north of and overlooking the main Kondoa–Handeni road, about 45 miles east of Kibaya Station. Its map-reference is: C 5; Masai Steppe: L II; d; 3, 4. The name Talamai refers primarily to the hills, whereas Kijungu is the settlement.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

by nomads, necessitated the employment by my predecessor of Dorobo as guides on several occasions. Owing to their intimate knowledge of the more remote parts of the country, no better guides could be found. Thus, contact once made with these shy and elusive people, whose dormant distrust and fear of the European is quick to awake, cordial relations were speedily established mainly owing to the fact that we have always been willing, when possible, to employ them as trackers and hunters.

The early (and not original) discovery that all Dorobo are not alike and that some differ so widely from others as to appear to warrant the assumption that they have not a common origin encouraged me to further investigations. At the outset, however, it became apparent that I was twenty years too late. Many points, upon which it is obvious that further information is necessary before a conclusion can even be hazarded, still remain subjects for speculation. It is felt, however, that the result of my labours (undertaken because the matter interested me, and carried to their present incomplete stage because the interest grew) and the very tentative conclusions I have ventured to draw therefrom may have some interest to those qualified to speak with authority on matters of ethnology and philology.

Reference has been made to the Dorobo by Mr. Hobley,[1] who mentions the fact that previous to the arrival of the Masai and A-Kikuyu the East African highlands are believed to have been inhabited by an aboriginal hunting tribe—possibly the *Okiek*[2]—who may have been the ancestors of the Dorobo. If this is the case (and it would seem not improbable), my assumption that all Dorobo have not a common origin may have to be modified except as regards the *Balañga* and the *Kinyalañgat*, reference to whom will be found further on in these notes. These Dorobo differ patently from the others about whom I have collected information.

The *Okiek* are stated by Hobley to have been a scattered

[1] *A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, C. W. Hobley (Cambridge, 1910).

[2] Sir Claud Hollis informs me that most Dorobo whom he has met call themselves *Okiek*. The name is unknown to me in this connection, but I do not assert that the Dorobo of Tanganyika Territory are ignorant of it. (See p. 306, s.v. "Tribe," *The Nandi; their Language and Folklore*, Sir C. Hollis.)

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

race " without any great social coherence." This description admittedly tallies with the characteristics of the Tanganyika Dorobo of to-day, but the latter are, even now, violently opposed to fusion with the surrounding Bantu. This may be a characteristic acquired from the Masai, but it does not argue descent from the more accessible and less exclusive *Okiek*.[1]

The name " Dorobo " would seem to have displeased more than one writer on these subjects. As Sir Claude Hollis says, the name has probably nothing to do with the Masai word *dorop*, short.[2] At any rate, I have been unable to discover any grounds for the belief that it has. The Masai, when asked, will always say that the Dorobo are so called on account of the resemblance their habits bear to those of the tsetse fly.[3] " The Dorobo," say the Masai, " live in the bush and used to prey on cattle in the old days. The tsetse fly lives in the bush and is one of the greatest enemies cattle have. In many places, Dorobo and tsetse fly are the principal inhabitants of a bush area. What other reason, then, is there for so calling the Dorobo? " While I do not assert that there is no other reason for the name, I think it will be agreed that we are not in possession of sufficient data to justify our writing it down as absurd. The derivation of the name " Dorobo " here given is at least as reasonable as that of the word " Swahili " cited in the last sentence of Bishop Steere's preface to the first edition of his *Swahili Handbook*.

Once it has been definitely established that Masailand was inhabited by more than one clan or tribe of Dorobo, an effort was made to obtain the names by which these clans or tribes were known. The Masai were singularly unhelpful in this regard, and I ceased to question them when I realised that their ignorance was as great as my own. The Dorobo themselves were willing to answer all questions (when encouraged and at a loss for a reply, they proved to be most powerful romancers), but were little better informed than the Masai. After many weary months of suggestion and counter-suggestion, involving the accumulation of a mass of extremely inaccurate information, it appeared that there were grounds for assuming the existence

[1] Hobley, p. 135. [2] Hollis: *The Masai; their Language and Folklore.*
[3] Masai: *En-dorōbōni; pl. 'N-dorōbo;* the tsetse fly.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

101 [124] of the following types of Dorobo.[1] I give the names in the singular and plural forms.[2]

Sing.	*Plur.*
1. Ol-Balañgai	Il-Balañga
2. Ol-Kinyalañgati	Il-Kinyalañgat
3. Ol-Mósiroi	Il-Mósiro [3]
4. Ol-Médiaki	Il-Médiak
5. Ol-Kisankasai	Il-Kisankasa
6. Ol-Aramanik	Il-Aramanik
7. Ol-Kitokordai	Il-Kitokorda
8. Ol-Kisangara	Il-Kisangara

These names, all preceded by the Masai article, would seem to be the only ones known to the members of the types they represent. It is possible that there may have been other names in existence originally, and that many years in close contact with the Masai have had the effect of reducing some of these names to the Masai idiom. On this it is not possible to give an opinion, owing to the complete lack of information on the subject.

The names of the types of Dorobo having been unearthed, it remained to establish contact with some individuals of each type. In this I have been moderately successful. An added 101 197 incentive to my efforts was the fact that the *Mósiro* Dorobo, who live in considerable numbers in the vicinity of Talamai, were discovered to have a language of their own. This language is almost wholly unintelligible to the Masai. On being questioned, the *Mósiro* admitted their ability to converse in a tongue unknown to the Masai, but stated that there were other Dorobo [4] whose language they (the *Mósiro*) did not know.[5]

[1] I do not call them clans. I think it will be agreed, later, that their [614] relationship is more distant than that between clans or families. On the other hand, it would not seem, from the existing evidence, that they can all be definitely labelled as distinct and different tribes.

[2] The singular would represent an individual of the type and the plural the [193] type as a whole.

[3] According to Hollis, *Il-Mósiro* is the name given to a clan of the Chaga people by the Kenya Masai. I have not heard the name used in this connection by the Masai of the Tanganyika Reserve. [4] *Il-Aramanik*.

[5] [It might be of interest, in this connection, to recall the fact that the

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

For the sake of brevity and clarity I have set forth the following notes under separate heads, each head being devoted to one type of Dorobo.

Il-Balaŋga

The *Balaŋga* Dorobo live mainly with the Masai. Some of them are poor, but many have acquired herds of cattle. A *Balaŋga* elder named Payána, living at present with the Masai of the Moipo area,[1] has one of the largest herds in the southern part of the Masai Reserve. The *Balaŋga* follow Masai customs and methods of life except when they are prevented from doing so through poverty. The acquisition of a few cattle immediately converts a *Balaŋga* Dorobo into a Masai, to all intents and purposes,[2] and his women have not that instinctive distaste for living among and sleeping in close proximity to cattle evinced by other Dorobo women. The *Balaŋga* have no language except Masai,[3] will tell you that they *are* Masai and are admitted by the Masai to be the same as they are themselves. None the less, it is interesting to note that the habituated eye can very often pick out the *Balaŋga* from an assemblage of Masai, particularly if the *Balaŋga* present be elders. The reason for this is, I think, that the privations these people have been forced to undergo in the past have left their mark. There is something *farouche* in the physiognomy of the *Balaŋga*, common to all natives who have, at one time or another, lived by hunting and away from their fellow-men.

In this connection it is of interest to note that Sir Claud Hollis, in an article in *Man* (December 1909), mentions the fact that he once met some Masai-Dorobo in the Rift Valley who did not speak Nandi (see p. 138 and other references *infra*). I think that the alternative theory advanced by him that

Wasanye, whose relation to the Galla resembles that of the Dorobo to the Masai, now all speak Galla, though they formerly had a language of their own (which some still remember), and, further, that the names of the Sanye clans are identical with those of Galla clans.—A.W.]

[1] The area bordering the Pangani river, north-west of Korogwe.

[2] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent article in the *Journal of the African Society*, makes a passing reference to the *Balaŋga*, whom he considers to be merely impoverished Masai.

[3] Except Kiswahili, of course. A certain number of Masai in the Kitëto area speak this tongue, likewise many Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6 .

possibly these Dorobo had been poor Masai, who, having lost their cattle, had taken to hunting, is probably the correct one. It would appear likely that the Dorobo in question were *Balaŋga*, though Sir Claud was unable to satisfy himself as to their true origin.

The original *Balaŋga* are stated to have come from the Kisongo [1] district of the Masai. It may be that this is the case, as the name Kisongo originally stood for a very large tract of country—in fact, almost the whole area occupied to-day by the Masai of Tanganyika Territory. It is certain that there now are *Balaŋga* Dorobo with the Masai throughout the length and breadth of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve, and it becomes more difficult daily to find *Balaŋga* who still devote themselves to hunting. Even those who own little or no stock prefer to live with their richer brethren or with the Masai. The younger men have never led a bush life. They carry spears [2] (and, when appropriate, shields) and do not care to be reminded of the fact that they were ever other than the Masai.

Occasionally, when an elephant or other large beast is killed by the European sportsman, a few old men (Masai, to all outward seeming) will make their appearance unobtrusively, generally accompanied by donkeys. Having obtained permission, they will proceed to rip and hack away huge quantities of the flesh with a determination and cheerful abandon seldom to be met with in the Masai. When the donkeys have been loaded with as much meat as they can carry, the old gentlemen will quietly depart, bound, presumably, for a banquet of Gargantuan proportions. Should one ask, they will admit shyly that they are *Balaŋga*, but will almost always add: "We are now Masai again."

I think there can be no doubt that the Masai and the *Balaŋga* are one and the same. The opinions of the Masai (notoriously unwilling to admit the equality of others) and the *Balaŋga* themselves are unanimous on the matter, and I have been unable to discover any shred of evidence to the contrary. It would appear reasonable to assume that the *Balaŋga* are the

[1] Cf. Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*: pp. 260, 261. The name would seem to be restricted, nowadays, to an area south-west and west of Arusha. (Map reference: B 5; Kilimanjaro: E, F, I, K.)

[2] The spear would not seem to be an indigenous Dorobo weapon.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

descendants of the hardier members of the Masai tribe, who were forced to adopt a life of hunting when supplies were short, as on the occasions when rinderpest swept through the Masai herds, leaving famine in its wake.

The changes from the original stock wrought by environment alone in many Western races are more marked than the differences to be observed between the *Ilaikipiak* and their parent tribe. It may be said, in the case of the *Ilaikipiak*, that environment would seem to have done its work with remarkable swiftness if any outward difference can be detected between the *Ilaikipiak* and the Masai to-day, but is not Africa a country of mushroom growths?

Il-Kieyaleknat

The *Kieyaleknat* Dorobo would seem to be to the Kwavi or Lumbwa [1] Masai what the *Ilaikipiak* is to the Masai proper. The Lumbwa, with the *Kieyaleknat*, live on the southern border of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and in various small communities throughout the Dodoma, Kilosa and Handeni Districts. There are, also, Lumbwa in Usambara, east of the Pangani river. The Lumbwa state that the *Kieyaleknat* Dorobo originated in or near Morogoro, but as many *Kieyaleknat* are found wherever the Lumbwa live, I do not think this assertion can be relied on except inasmuch as it refers to the *Kieyaleknat* who sprang from that section of the Lumbwa which itself "originated" in Morogoro.

I have listened to the speech of the *Kieyaleknat* (who have no language but Masai),[2] and in it can be detected the typical characteristics which distinguish the pronunciation of the Lumbwa from that of the Masai proper. The *Kieyaleknat* call themselves Lumbwa,[3] live with the Lumbwa and move when they move. They have, as a general rule, small herds of

[1] *Ol-Odeap.* The Lumbwa and the Masai proper are not friendly. Any account of their differences would be too lengthy to insert here, as the original cause of discord is of some antiquity. There were some small skirmishes between the Lumbwa and the Masai of adjoining areas during the late war. The Lumbwa are said to have assisted the Germans on many occasions to locate hidden Masai cattle. [2] See note 3, p. 131.

[3] *Kwavi*, rather, as the name "Lumbwa" is not in favour among the Kwavi, being a term of contempt applied to those who, pastoralists born, have adopted agricultural habits.

A Wlomo (left) and a Nuon of the U-Kroo Club. The Portuguese was taken at Sabuta. Their arms Barbadoes cross Wlomo. (McCann.)

JL Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kieyaleleyat* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

The *Kieyaleleyat* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Baleleya*. They are good husbands even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kieyaleleyat* elder of the 'L-almor age' named Mwanamunde lives at Mtambalo on the Handeni-Masai border. He is one of the oldest men in Masailand, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-aiguenani*[1] by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

I have not written much about either the *Baleleya* or the *Kieyaleleyat*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'I-Okiepe. If this is not the case, I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Baleleya* and the *Kieyaleleyat* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Baleleya* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Mbiro ; Il-Mdiak ; Il-Kisankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Mbiro* and *Mdiak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

[1] Circumcision of 1874 approximately, according to Hollis.
[2] Spokesman or Councillor.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

clans or families,[1] after the manner of the Masai, but there is no difference between their several bearers at the present time. *Mōiro* and *Mōiak* Dorobo live and hunt together all over the southern half of the Masai Reserve to-day. They are fairly numerous[2] (for Dorobo), and in many cases are almost indistinguishable, outwardly, from the Masai.

There, however, the similarity ends, as these Dorobo (referred to, henceforward, as *Mōiro* collectively) are the first with whom we have had to deal possessing a language of their own. Reference to the comparative lists of numbers and the list of names of common objects given elsewhere will show the wide difference there is between the language spoken by these people and that of the Masai.

According to Lekite, who was the only man in recent years holding even a semblance of authority among these people, the "home" of the *Mōiro* is at Talasmai.[3] He, in common with many Masai and Dorobo elders, admits that the Dorobo originally came from a country designated vaguely as *Jaw*,[4] but no living *Mōiroi* can remember the time when the majority of his people did not live at or near to Talasmai.

[illegible]

Masai in the kraals of the latter. They are sometimes (particularly when game and honey are scarce) to be found in small rude kraals of their own, close to the Masai. In these kraals will sometimes be seen a few goats or sheep and almost always fowls.[5] More often, however, the *Mōiro* live in tiny communities (sometimes a man, his wife and their children alone) in the depths of the bush. There they exist, homeless save for a rude shelter of skins within a primitive thorn stockade, by hunting and gathering roots and honey. When supplies run short they beg from the Masai. When a large animal is shot or dies from natural causes the *Mōiro* in the vicinity seem to become aware of the event in the most uncanny way. They will appear unexpectedly, make their camp, and remain until the carcass has been completely denuded of flesh. The meat is not eaten quite raw, but is subjected to a hasty charring, the

[1] More probably the former.
[2] Possibly 1000 souls, including the women and children.
[3] See note 3, p. 133. [4] *Jaw*: in this case meaning the north.
[5] The Masai regard the eating of fowls or eggs as useless.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

duration of which is in inverse ratio to its toothsomeness and the severity of the cook's hunger.

The Masai are good to the *Méoiro* and seldom refuse them a share in whatever food is obtainable—be it milk, meat or grain. The *Méoiro* expect this; in fact, many of them seem to look on free rations from the Masai as their right. The reason for this is stated to be that the *Méoiro* helped the Masai on many occasions in the past (particularly during the great rinderpest epidemic in the early 'nineties) by hunting for them when starvation had overcome the ingrained antipathy of the Masai to venison. In addition, before the coming of European rule many elephants were killed by the *Méoiro* at the request of the Masai. Lekito told me of one drive in which he and about thirty *Méoiro* were engaged during which sixteen elephants were killed.

When a *Méoiroi* obtained cattle he used, unless restrained by his more prudent friends, to slaughter and eat them in the shortest possible time. Up to quite recently, a beast was valued by the *Méoiroi* only for the amount of meat it was capable of providing, but nowadays a few of them are beginning to herd cattle in a small way and some even live as Masai. It is interesting to note that many of the older generation, particularly the women, profess an aversion to having cattle in the vicinity of their own dwelling- or sleeping-places.

A few *Méoiro* till the land, but in a half-hearted way. They are extremely improvident and prefer to risk almost inevitable famine rather than to exert themselves in cultivating grain. They never expect their women to work in such small plantations as they may have. A *Méoiroi* will cheerfully tramp the bush for a week or more, picking up a most precarious existence on tubers and roots, and will consider himself well repaid if he returns with a few pounds of honey. He will be horrified at the idea of putting in one hour's work each day on a smaller patch for the same length of time.

In the bush, very little in the way of food comes amiss to the *Méoiroi*. Failing meat, his favourite food is honey, but this is regarded as a delicacy and would be eaten wholesale only under the most exceptional circumstances. If meat and honey are unobtainable, the *Méoiroi* has at his command an extensive

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Médiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endulet* [2] which every *Médiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Médiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Médiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and [illegible] no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *'surutya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Médiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Jago*; the Masai call it *Ee-gokiroi*; the *Médiro* name it *Cherkoondo*; the Nandi, *Chepkondo*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Ol-okorot* [Masai].

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

be that their absence is in many cases due to poverty. The *Mósiro* women follow the unusual custom of the Masai women in shaving their heads.

The younger generation of the men ape the Masai in wearing pigtails and dress like them when they can. They are addicted to the use of *Ol-kária* [1] and will, in time, be absorbed by the Masai. A few of them are now working as herds for various Masai, and, as I have said before, others have begun to follow a pastoral life with their own small herds.

All the *Mósiro* speak Masai, but many of them do so very imperfectly. No Masai that I have met can speak the *Mósiro* tongue, though Masai who have come in contact with the Nandi tell me that the language spoken by the *Mósiro* to-day seems vaguely reminiscent of the Nandi speech. Reference to the lists of numbers given elsewhere will show the marked similarity there is between the numerals (up to five) in the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* tongues.

The language of the *Mósiro* is dying, as any language except Masai tends to do in the Masai country. I have asked many *Mósiro* to give me the names of various common objects, and I have often been given a Masai name, my informant protesting that he knew no other. In the case of the numerals, it would seem to be a moot point as to whether the *Mósiro* tongue originally possessed numerals up to seven only and borrowed the remainder from Masai, when usage demanded, or whether the numerals from eight onwards have fallen into disuse and have been replaced gradually by the Masai words.

The physical make-up of the *Mósiro* is good. They are, as a rule, tall and lithe and are in many cases more muscular than the Masai. The pigmentation of their skins varies from a light, clear brown to a black almost Nubian. There would seem to be differences between them and the Masai in the formation of the jaw-bone and the zygomatic arch. I have had neither instruments nor training to enable me to undertake a series of anthropometrical measurements, but I think it is safe to say that many *Mósiro* have high cheek-bones and

[1] A mixture of red ochre and mutton fat, smeared all over the body and patterned on the legs, arms and face. It seems to be in use among nearly all Nilotic tribes.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mósiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mósiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mósiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mósiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mósiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mósiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

224 825 mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

224 411 The *Mósiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Mósiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

261 If trouble is in the wind, the *Mósiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilisation, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Mósiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

271 272

[1] My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Mósiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Mósiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kicherembwee*, is also known to the Kitêto Masai and is called by them *Ol-hiserimbwa*. This is a corruption of the *Mósiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

[824]

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

palatable water. A full-grown specimen of this tuber must weigh many pounds, as I have seen them as large as a Rugby football. It is most difficult of detection, having only three or four small oval leaves above ground, but the *Mósiro* seem to be able to find it anywhere. It is generally obtained by digging with a sharpened stick under certain bushes.

The majority of the *Mósiro* (if not all) would seem to inhabit the southern half of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve. There are a few living in Handeni, but close to the southern Masai border and within a day's march of Talamai. North of L'ol-Kisale I have not met with *Mósiro*, though I think there may be a few in the northern areas. There are some *Mósiro* in the vicinity of Lo-'sokonoi. I imagine (though I do not assert positively) that the Dorobo living with the Masai west of the Rift Wall, in the Ketu-'m-beine localities and to the north of Lake Eyasi, are not *Mósiro*, but are *Aramanik*.

Many *Il-Mósiro* are members by adoption of the *'L-Aiser* and *Il-Mólelyan* clans of the Masai, and some have been adopted into the *Il-Marumae* family of the *Il-Meñgana* clan.

Since the above notes were written, I have met with certain *Mósiro* whose housing methods are even more primitive than those already described. These people live in unpleasantly odoriferous "dug-outs" about eight feet below the ground. There is no ventilation, and the cave is generally scooped out beneath the roots of a baobab or other suitable tree. At night the entrance is securely blocked with thorns. The *Mósiro* who live thus differ in no other respect from those already described and, amusingly enough, are much despised by their relatives for their troglodytic existence.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

(To be continued)

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

IL-TORŌBO

PART II

Il-Aramanik

I MUST confess at the outset that the *Aramanik* Dorobo are the people from whom it was hoped to get the most interesting information and from whom I actually succeeded in extracting the least. They were first described to me as being a "clan" of Dorobo who lived at Moipo and who were fishermen[1] by occupation. This I have found to be quite incorrect.

There are *Aramanik* living with the Moipo Masai, but they live as Masai and have almost entirely abandoned Dorobo methods of life. They differ from the *Balañga* only inasmuch as they are not Masai, call themselves Dorobo and have a language of their own. This language (for examples of which see the section devoted to numerals and the list of common objects) is quite distinct from that of the *Mósiro*.[2] I have had personal experience of the fact that a Masai cannot converse with a Dorobo in the tongue of the latter, and that *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* can be quite unintelligible to each other.

An *Aramanik* named Serkala, of Moipo, gave me the following bald account of the origin of the *Aramanik*: "We come from Kigogo,[3] from a hole there used to be therein but which has since closed up, near Ol-doinyo-'le-Lepisiek. We came south with the Masai a long time ago. Formerly we lived around Moita and Ol-oitip, but have now come down here to Moipo. Others of us went north to the Serenget' plain. We are not Masai, but they are our brothers, and we have married their

[1] Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, in a recent number of the *Journal of the African Society*, mentions that a "fisherman clan" of the Dorobo lives in the Ruvu river valley.

[2] See *Die Masai*, M. Merker (Berlin, 1910), p. 229 *et seq.* I think the Dorobo dealt with are *Aramanik* for the most part, though *Aramanik* and *Mósiro* may have been confused, to judge by the account given on p. 257.

[3] The *Aramanik* name for Kisongo. See p. 132 in *Journal* for January 1928.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

193 women and they ours. Now we live with our cattle like the Masai." This account is far from enlightening, and when Serkala states that the *Aramanik* live as Masai, I fancy he is making too sweeping an assertion. Admittedly, the *Aramanik* 197 of Moipo live as Masai, and so do many *Aramanik* in the central 101 areas of Tanganyika Masailand, but I suggest that the Dorobo living at the north end of Lake Eyasi and those on the Serenget' plain (north-west of the Ngorongoro localities), who live a purely bush life, are also *Aramanik*.[1] Lekite was positive in the assertion that all the Dorobo living as such in the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and, furthermore, all the Dorobo in the Kenya Masai Reserve,[2] are *Aramanik*. I have had no opportunity of testing the accuracy of this statement. However, I do not think it likely that there can be yet another type of Dorobo unknown to those individuals from whose information the present notes have been compiled. If my assumption be correct, I think it may well be that *Aramanik* and *Balañga* (the latter possibly under a different name) constitute the bulk of the Dorobo in Kenya, and that the Dorobo inhabitants of the northern areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve are almost all *Aramanik*.

226 The *Aramanik* at Moipo are not fishermen. They do not [268] eat fish, but they are very partial to the meat and fat of the hippopotamus.[3] They do little hunting nowadays and are, 224 both young men and elders, rapidly becoming indistinguishable 282 from the Masai. The *Aramanik* living further north (notably those to the west of the Rift Wall at Sanjan, Salei and Peiáya) live a bush life of hunting and honey-gathering and are not above shooting a Masai ox when the chance presents itself.[4] 181 They are extremely shy people and I have had little chance of 123 establishing contact with them.

The most remarkable thing about the *Aramanik* is their 194 language. It is guttural in the extreme, and while there would 192 seem to be few of the characteristics of the Masai or *Mósiro* [177]

[1] See p. 131, *loc. cit.* The Dorobo seen by Sir Claud Hollis may, alternatively, have been *Aramanik*. [161]

[2] About 4000 in number.

[3] I have been unable to discover a single individual among the Masai and the Dorobo of all kinds who does not regard the eating of fish as anathema.

[4] According to unauthenticated statements made by certain Masai.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

tongues to be observed in it, certain words would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai. There are certain other words which the *Mósiro* say the *Aramanik* have taken from them. The *Aramanik* say the reverse is the case. For instance, an ox, in the *Aramanik* tongue, is *kirigit*. The *Mósiro* call it *kirigi*.

Numbers of words in the *Aramanik* language have no plural form, and the language as a whole, to the ears of a very inexperienced amateur philologist, would seem to be more primitive than that of the *Mósiro*. Its most pronounced characteristic, perhaps, is the frequent occurrence of a half-sounded *k*—generally at the termination of a word. Again, the *Aramanik* numerals differ from the Masai up to three only. I have gone into this matter at some length, but all my *Aramanik* informants are unanimous in stating that there never were any words for numbers above three until the remainder were borrowed from the Masai. This does not altogether satisfy me.[1]

Investigation of the Dorobo living adjacent to the 'l-Oita, Purko and Ol-Oitokitok Masai would, doubtless, be productive of much interesting information. As I have already said, I think they are *Aramanik*, but I have little to advance in support of my theory.

As in the case of the *Il-Mósirŏ*, some *Aramanik* are stated to have been adopted, in their fathers' time, into various Masai clans—mainly the *'L-Aiser*.

The Masai smiths (*Il-Kunōno*)[2] had a dialect of their own which was not generally understood by the Masai. However, it was universally agreed to be a bastard Masai, and the *Kunōno* were never asserted to be anything but Masai. I do not think they can be identified with any of the types of Dorobo we have seen so far.

Il-Kitokorda ; Il-Kisangara[3]

It is unfortunate that I am able to say little or nothing about these peoples. Whether they are two distinct types of Dorobo

[1] See Merker: *Die Masai*, p. 257. I could discover no *Aramanik* who knew all the numerals here given, but as *Die Masai* was first published in 1904, presumably the list of numerals was obtained at least twenty-five years ago and probably more.

[2] Mainly drawn from the *Il-Kipuyŏni* family of the *Il-Mōlelyan* clan (Hollis).

[3] The names here given are probably not the true names of these Dorobo.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

or whether they are as closely connected as the *Mósiro*, *Médiak* and *Kisankasa*, I am unable to say, as I have had little opportunity of meeting them or of making inquiries about them.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* live in the country of the Wanguu and Wazigua,[1] and are stated to have lived always with or on the outskirts of these Bantu tribes. On the formation of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve in 1923, the Wanguu and Wazigua inhabiting the Talamai–Gitu–Mtambalo area were moved eastwards. With them went the *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*. Rumour says that many of them would have preferred to remain in Masailand where honey is plentiful, but their Bantu masters were adamant and insisted on the Dorobo following them. The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara*, dependent for the necessities of life on the Wanguu and Wazigua (particularly in a bad season when honey and game are scarce) went perforce.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* spend a considerable amount of time in the bush, honey-gathering. They are entirely ignorant of the Masai language, as a general rule, but know Kinguu and Kizigua and often both. They are stated to have a primitive tongue of their own, but on this point I am unable to speak definitely. It has also been said that some of them speak the *Mósiro* language, and although this may be the case, I am inclined to think that the presence of a few *Mósiro*, who live in scattered settlements just on the Handeni–Masai border and who cultivate small gardens of maize and millet, may have given rise to this belief.

The *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* Dorobo may be impoverished Wanguu and Wazigua, but I think it more likely that they are Nilotic [2] in origin. There would seem to be little reason for an agriculturist to turn into a bushman.[3] The few *Kitokorda* and *Kisangara* I have seen differ entirely in general physical characteristics from their Bantu neighbours (who do not admit consanguinity with them), and their speaking only Kinguu or

They are the names current among the Masai and the Dorobo in Masailand, but it may be that different names are used in the Handeni country.

[1] To the west of Handeni Station in the Pangani District.

[2] Perhaps it would be better to say Hamitic.

[3] [But is not this the case with the Bakalahari in South Africa, stated on good authority to be impoverished Bechuana?—A. W.]

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

Kizigua (if this is so) may indicate nothing more than the fact that their own language has been lost. My remarks are only in the nature of pure surmise, because, as I have said before, I have had no opportunity of conversing with or investigating these people.

This, as far as my information extends, concludes the list of types of people living in, or adjacent to, the Tanganyika Masai Reserve and calling themselves "Dorobo." In the Burungi area of the Kondoa District there are a few impoverished Burungi who live a bush life and who are sometimes referred to as "Dorobo" by their fellow-tribesmen. I imagine that they are the same, relatively speaking, as the *Balañga* and have no more real claim to the name Dorobo than have the Burungi themselves.

Dorobo Arms

(Unless otherwise stated, all native names are in the language of the *Il-Mósiro*.)

The following arms and equipment are commonly carried by the Dorobo in his wanderings through the bush. Many of the articles are in use by the Masai, but with the exception of the sword and throwing-club (which are Masai arms) and the poison (which is manufactured by the Wakamba of Kilosa), the arms are made by the Dorobo themselves. Spears and shields are not used by the true Dorobo, though, as I have said, *Balañga* and *Kinyalañgat* who have abandoned their wanderings and have returned to the bosom of the tribe may, and often do, carry spears.

The bow (*kueanda*), which is always kept strung, is anything from four-and-a-half to five-and-a-half feet long. The length varies with the stature of the owner. There is no notch or other arrangement for affixing the string to the shaft—it is merely securely knotted at either end and never seems to slip. The wood used is that of the *Ol-porŏwet* tree and is immensely tough and strong. The shaft of the bow is sometimes coloured brown with the stain produced by the spittle made from chewing a leaf the name of which I have been unable to discover, but more often its pristine whiteness gradually fades to a dull brown

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

411 [386] through use and continuous contact with hands and bodies which are frequently anointed with *Ol-kâria*.[1]

[237] The bowstring (*inee*') is made from the sinew embedded in the dorsal muscles of an ox, eland, greater kudu or hartebeest. Occasionally it may be manufactured from the tendon of a giraffe's leg.

[415] The quiver (*mootiet*) [2] is a cylinder of ox-, eland- or kudu-skin about two-and-a-half feet in length and capable of containing from fifteen to thirty arrows. A strap runs down one side and is attached to the removable cap. When this cap is put on, the strap, taut over the wearer's shoulder, keeps it in place. The quiver is the same in all respects as that used by the Masai, and an illustration of it will be found on p. 356 of *The Masai; their Language and Folklore* (Hollis).

The arrows (*kâtik*; sing. *kâte*) vary in length according to the size of the owner. They are generally between twenty and thirty inches long. Many kinds of wood are used for the making of the arrow-shaft (*muliandee*). The arrow-head (*sivelda*), which is made from any scraps of iron that can be obtained (since the decline of the *Il-Kunôno*,[3] no iron is smelted in Tanganyika Masailand, and swords and spears are made, almost exclusively, by the Chaga and the Wanguu), consists of a single barb. The hole bored in the shaft to receive it is reinforced with sinew (*Mâisie*) from the leg of an ox. This is bound round the aperture, and then the work is smeared with a kind of gum (*ilè*) obtained from the *Ñgoisiandee* [4] tree. The arrow feathers are those of the vulture (*Ara'chee*) or the long-legged insect-eating bird called *Endera'hi*. The feathers are bound to the shaft with thin gut and the whole (including the nock) is then coated with a sticky paste obtained by chewing a tuber (*sikôitie*). This paste is smeared on and allowed to dry in the sun, when the result is surprisingly strong and well-knit.

[531] Dorobo arrows are workmanlike and extremely strong, but they are seldom if ever embellished or ornamented in any way.

The arrow-head is generally (when coated with fresh poison)

[1] See note, p. 138 *loc. cit.*
[2] Cf. the Masai *Ol-môtian*.
[3] See note 2, p. 231.
[4] Cf. the Masai *Ol-ngoswa* (*Balanites sp.*; Hollis). The same tree.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance.

A small supply of fresh poison (*nguane*) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta siléld*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey.

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate.

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence.

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

412 differs little from that used by the Masai and many Bantu tribes. This axe is, primarily, a tool and not a weapon.
411 They also carry the usual Masai club, which they call *rungu*'.[1]
[507] This club is used indiscriminately as a throwing or hitting weapon. The Dorobo are excellent shots with it, but are more expert with the bow. The latter weapon they seem to
526 venerate; they are for ever holding archery competitions among themselves, and it is no uncommon sight to see a Dorobo dreamily twanging the taut string of his bow (often little shorter
[517] than himself) and deriving obvious pleasure from the sound produced thereby.

415 A skin bag or bottle, of the usual Masai pattern, is used to
177 bring home honey collected in the bush. The Dorobo carry this, when full (the same remark applies to any other load),
487 by means of a strap of bark or leather round the forehead. The load hangs between the shoulder-blades in the usual Masai fashion.

The *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* Languages

(A comparative list of numerals, words and tenses, with the equivalents in Masai and Nandi.)

194 The following symbols or marks have been used to assist in the correct pronunciation of the numerals and the short lists of words and tenses given. They have also been used throughout the text. Most of them are used as in Hollis's well-known works on the Masai and Nandi.

The symbol ~ when superimposed denotes that the *ŋg* occurring in the word has the same sound as the English *singer*. In cases where it does not appear the *g* is hard.

A diaeresis has its usual grammatical significance.

´ denotes that the letter beneath it is definitely accented.

¯ denotes a long open vowel. *ee* has been used in some words to denote an inimitable, long, drawling sound.

An elevated letter (as in *dalo*^{a}) denotes that the letter in question is barely perceptibly sounded.

Where ˚ appears over a vowel, it means that the latter has a

[1] This club is almost always made of the wood of a tree called by the Masai *Ol-oirien*. According to the authority quoted in Hollis, this tree is the wild olive (*Olea chrysophylla*). *Ol-oirien* may also mean the heart-wood of a tree (Hollis).

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

very open but short sound. In the case of *shódahat*, the *ó* is so open as almost to sound like the *a* in the English *father*. 194

ˈ denotes that the vowel beneath it has a short, clipped sound. In *illˈ*, the *ˈ* is pronounced like the *a* in the English *fat*.

, beneath a letter means that it has a slurred sound. *ṗ*, *ḃ*, *ṿ* and *ṽ* in the Masai and *Mósiro* tongues are almost interchangeable.

With regard to the list of numerals given, the similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mósiro* words (up to 5) will be apparent at once. The Aramanik *one* and *two* are unlike anything else in the list, unless *kindei* can be said to resemble *akeñge* or *epei*. 807 197

The Somali, Masai, Latuka and the two Dorobo words for six are all alike, but the *Mósiro* word for *seven* and the *Aramanik two* (as stated above) have no resemblance to any others in the several counts. Possibly the former may be a corruption of the Nandi *seven*.

Turning to the list of nouns; only the word for *ox* is the same, or practically so, in *Mósiro* and *Aramanik*. No other corresponding words would appear to have the least resemblance in these tongues (except *asíta* and *ajit*) or in Masai. However, the remarkable similarity between the *Mósiro* and the Nandi list will not fail to be noticed at once. 192 197

The names of the game animals, in the *Mósiro* language, would seem to have been borrowed from the Masai in some cases. There will also be observed a certain similarity between *Mósiro* and *Aramanik* in the word for *hartebeest*, and the word for *wildebeest* is obviously the same in all three tongues. The likeness between *Mósiro* and Nandi will here be noted again. [177]

Some of the simpler verbal forms from Masai and Nandi have been taken and the *Mósiro* equivalents inserted. The similarity between the last two is again manifest. It is to be regretted that I am unable to submit examples of the *Aramanik* verbal forms. These are extremely primitive and very difficult to write, and I hesitate to place on record the very hastily-written examples I have, so far, had the opportunity of obtaining. 192 197 128

It may be as well to mention that the *Mósiro* examples given herein were all written down before I had access to

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

192 Hollis's book on the Nandi. I have left them just as they
197 were written in the first instance, as it would seem an additional
188 proof (if any be needed) that the *Mósiro* and the Nandi are very closely related. On checking them over with the *Mósiro* and with Hollis's book before me, I am not inclined to think that the *Mósiro* words could more accurately be written by conforming more closely to Hollis's Nandi spelling. The language of the *Mósiro*, though undoubtedly at one time pure
[177] Nandi, has become, owing to Masai and other influences, considerably modified, and I think that a *Mósiroi* from Talamai and a Nandi might have some difficulty in understanding each other if brought face to face.

126 The difficulty of setting down verbal forms which sound extremely alike and which appear to vary only owing to the difference in intonation in individual voices will be readily appreciated by all who have ever attempted the task. In addition, the
[193] *Mósiroi* is no respecter of persons, in the sense that " ye want " and " they want " are more or less the same to him. He rarely troubles to be accurate about his verbs (the same remark holds good when he is speaking Kiswahili), merely differentiating between the singular and plural and leaving it to the context to elucidate the precise meaning.

Very few examples are given. It was thought that a longer
197 and more detailed list was outside the scope of a brief and
192 unscientific paper of this nature.

802

No.	Somali.	Masai.	Latuka.	Nandi.	Turkana.	Suk.	Mákwa.	Awawasi.
1	Kan	Ôre; m. Nâre; *f.*	Abedi	Akenge	Epol	Okokpi	Abatiga	Kindel
2	Labe	Arre; m. Are; *f.*	Arrega	Arâg or Oreg	Ngara	Opiindy	Am[1]	Lara
3	Sadeh	Okuni; m. Uni; *f.*	Cuniga	Sonik	Ngunai	Sonok	Bisuk	Sonok
4	Afar	Oukgwan; m. Okgwan; *f.*	Angwa	Afgwan	Nikwanya	Afgwan	Afgwan	Ongwan
5	Shan	Imyet	Miyet	Met	Ekun	Mit	Mok	Imyet
6	Lix	Mo	Ele	Mo or Kiabe	Ekinol Imyet	Mot ngô[2] Okokpi	Ele	Mo
7	Tedeh	Ongidoma; m. Nangidoma; *f.*	Attoch	Tiosp	Ekitol	Mot ngô Ongidoy	Sosi[3]	Nangidoma
8	Sidal	Inyol	Ongipol	Sidit	Ngolgwan	Mot ngô Ongidoy	Inyot	Inyot
9	Sagal	Ôude; m. Nâude; *f.*	Ôdongwa	Sokol	Ekun Imwonun	Mot ngô Sosok	Sudusi[4]	Sudusi
10	Tobon	Tomon	Tomwa	Tamus	Tomwon	Mot ngô Afgwan	Tamus	Tomus
						Mot ngô Tomûn		

[138] The Somali, Latuka and Turkana vocals given above have been taken from Sir Charles Eliot's Introduction to *The Masai Language and Folklore* (Hollis). The Nandi and Suk vocals have been taken from Hollis and Beech respectively. The *Mákwa* and *Awawasi* spellings is my own. The remarkable similarity between the Nandi, Suk and *Mákwa* numerals (up to 5) will be noted.

[1] The final *a* is an faint that I have omitted it altogether.
[2] Mo, means, right and also Suk are often represented by the Turkana word *Ekinol*.
[3] *Sosi* is also used by the Masai for silver (p. 97, Introduction to Hollis's *The Masai*).
[4] The Masai also use *Sudusi* for silver.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

190
197

	Masai.[1]	*Nandi.*[2]	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Goat	En-gíso	Ngoswiet	Ngwisio	Ofuti
Sheep	Ol-kerr	Kechériet	Kéjiria	Hasa
Ox	Ol-kiténg	Tota	Kirigi	Kirigit
Hand	Eng-aiók	Kut	Kuta	Mukgo
Foot	En-gúa	Kokdo	Kokda	Yuli
Nose	En-gúme	Serut	Seru'	Kinga
Head	El-tughanya	Mettí	Metti	Kogo
Man	Ol-tokgani	Chilio	Chilio	Kindo
Woman	E-ngorróyani	Kurbet	Karubo	Mato
Child	En-geral	Lakwet	Lagwe	Ge
Knife	Eng-aiem	Chephuswai	Sibii	Pandos
Bow	Eng-áso	Kwingot	Kwanda	Mato
Arrow	En-bao	Kitot	Kito	Gare
Sword	Ol-aiem	Retuet	Rétue	Ipa
Sun	Eng-ólóg	Asista	Asita	Ajit
Moon	Ol-apa	Arowet	Arabue	Lebuch
Day	En-dáma	Ekunet	Fetinda	Ajita
Night	En-gwárie	Kumbaat	Lakgat	Kwanua
God	Eng-ai	Asis	Turuttu	Oyet

[1] The Masai and Nandi words given are prefixed by the singular article.

	Masai.	*Nandi.*	*Mósiro.*	*Aramanik.*
Zebra	Ol-oitigi[1]; s. Il-oitigiak; p.	Ngoiyet-ap-tim; s. Ngoiyik-ap-tim; p.	Sikiria; s.[1] Sirkua; p.	Sidjo
Elephant	Ol-tómo; s. Il-tómia; p.	Pilwet; s. Pilwik; p.	Pilwandet; s. Pilwik; p.	Pindos
Hartebeest	Ol-kondi; s. Il-kondia; p.		Ondusi; s. Indusiskia; p.	Bojoro
Giraffe	Ol-ogiet; s. Il-ogiek; p.	Ingotiet; s. Ingotiik; p.	Tungkoyet; s. Tungkoye; p.	Gilimok
Rhinoceros	E-muny; s. I-muny; p.	Kipsirichiet; s. Kipsirichaik; p.	Kyun; s. Kyunsia; p.	Kiswok[2]
Hippopotamus	Ol-mabor; s. Il-mabain; p.	Mabaita; s. Mabaitik; p.	Mabaita; s. Mabai; p.	Dako[3]
Lion	Ol-ógetony; s.	Ngetondo; s.	Ngetondo; s.	Murok or Mujok
Buffalo	Il-ógetonye; p. Ol-mótwan; s. Il-mótwani; p.	Ngetonyik; p. Sust; s. Susu; p.	Ngetonyik; p. Sus'; s. Sususi; p.	Shitokat
Wildebeest	O-ongat; s. I-ongatin; p.		Ongatin; s. Ongatin; p.	Ongat[3]

[1] Cf. the Masai word for donkey, *O-nikiria*, *I-nikua*.
[2] Cf. the Kiswahili *Ndovu*, meaning an elephant.
[3] Obviously the same word in the three languages.

In Masai, Nandi, and *Mósiro* there are many alternative names for the animals listed above. Only one example of each has been given in order to save space. The *Aramanik* words given have no plural forms. It will be noted how similar are the methods of forming the plurals in Nandi and *Mósiro*. [193]

In the *Mósiro* tongue the use of the article is vague in the extreme, and it is often a matter of some difficulty to ascertain whether it is being used or not. However, I think it exists and that some individuals use it more or less habitually, but

2: Maguire C-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dérobé FLA

the word seems to gain nothing from its inclusion or otherwise and it would be difficult to lay down any rule about it.

The *Mbúru*, despite their laxity in the use of their own article (assuming it to exist), are, curiously enough, surprisingly accurate in their use of the Masai article when speaking that language. (See p. xxii of the introduction to *The Isak : their Language and Folklore* (Beech). See also p. 32 of the text of that work.)

A COMPARISON BETWEEN SOME OF THE SIMPLER VERBAL FORMS IN MASAI, NANDI AND *MBÚRU*

	Masai.	Nandi.	*Mbúru*.
I follow			
I have followed			
He follows			
We follow			
You follow			
They follow			
I do not follow			
I have followed not			
He does not follow			
We do not follow			
Ye do not follow			
They do not follow			
I do not know			
I have known not			
He does not know			
We do not know			
Ye do not know			
They do not know			
I followed			
I have followed			
He followed			
We followed			
You followed			
They followed			

[illegible] Many Ns. used often in combined.

[illegible] The negative present of the Masai verb "to know" is analogical above it differs from the Nandian. See Beech's introduction to the Masai dialect, Masai Language and Folklore. The spelling of the other Masai and Nandi names is identical with Beech's works on the Masai and Nandi. The examples of tenses in *Mbúru* given above (especially those without the pronouns) are scrambled with difficulty. As I have said elsewhere, the *Mbúru* is not a respecter of persons, and verbs seem to depend largely for their meaning on the context and on the emphatic pronoun. Very few *Mbúru* have any idea at all of conjugating a verb. The effect is curious that *Mbúru* seems to adopt form of tenses employed above much long I should have believed possible. The results are unintelligible for other they away the emphatic I suppose would for their necessary.

[illegible] Or I-ho-ang-a-ma?

Accession G-5 (ca. 1924) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

Some Akikuyu Folk-Tales, Folk-Lore and Superstitions

"*Epilo dimolo bibii*" [1]

Thus answered a *Mikiuyu Dorobo* whom I called on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ol-mukuiuu* [2] tree, fibre for plaiting into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Masai is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the *Mikiuyu* themselves and admitted by the Masai to be Dorobo in origin.

The Dikdik and the Elephant.—The dikdik, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "Thou am I inconvenienced by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in the manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of dikdik-dung, showing that many of these animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Central tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyena.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich smith. The latter had cattle and

[1] "I am listening to something in the bush." [2] *Ol-Masai Ewaiso Nyiro*, *Albizzia amboniensis*, according to the authority quoted in Dale. It is used as a remedy for worms and to produce a large appetite. [3] A highly prized fly-whisk used in some of the Dorobo functions.

2: Magazine G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

539 donkeys. The tortoise was selected, after much discussion, as the one to kill the snake, because the snake did not fear him (for his house were outside his body) and would be likely to be off his guard in consequence. Neither did the tortoise (whose house were outside his body) fear the snake. While the tortoise and the snake were fighting, the hyæna made off with the cattle and the hare took the donkeys. The hyæna, being greedy, ate all the cattle and then stuck their tails upright in a muddy place. He then ran to the hare, *crying*: "See! all my cattle have fallen into this swamp and only their tails can now be seen! Woe is me!" The hare, however, refused to allow himself to be deceived by the hyæna or to part with any of his donkeys, and went off to live with them. He has now ceased to herd them, and they have become the striped donkeys[1] one sees on the plains. The tortoise at length succeeded in killing the snake after a long battle, and looked round only to discover that he had been cheated and deserted by his companions. To this day he has been unable to catch them, as he is such a slow walker, but he has not given up the pursuit and still goes through the bush, calling to them always: "Koo! Koo!" (the distinctive and bell-like note of the tortoise that natives say is so often heard).

The Sun and the Moon.[2]—The sun and the moon quarrelled. The reason for this was because the moon wanted to appear in the daytime. The sun refused to agree, and they fought. The moon was worsted and was also badly wounded, a big piece being knocked out of it. This is why it is not round like the sun and why it goes low down in the sky nearly always and is only seen at night. It wishes to avoid the sun, of which it is afraid. When the sun disappears from view at night, it awaits a favourable opportunity and then, when it is cloudy, rushes across the sky to the east again (so fast that no man can see it). It then rests until it is time to begin work on the following morning.

The Dikdik and the Eland.—Of those whose meat is tender, the eland is the largest animal and the dikdik is the smallest.

[1] Zebra.

[2] So we for the moon is here given. See Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 273, 274. Giese-Seidner: *Furnishing Tribes of Kenya*, pp. 273, 278.

This makes the latter feel jealous. He hates the eland on account of his superiority in size and strength, and to show that he is every bit as good as the eland, he has grown a long tuft of hair on his forehead, just the same as an eland bull. The eland has a habit of rubbing his forehead in his urine.[1] This causes the tuft on his forehead to grow strong and thick. The dikdik follows this custom also, partly to increase the growth of his frontal tuft and partly in order to prove that anything an eland can do, he can do as well.

The Wart-Hog and the Lion.[2]—(About four miles south-east of Kibuya there is a curious cave in a bank beside the river bed. The floods of years have washed away the earth from beneath a flat, granite-like rock outcrop which forms the bank in one place, and the cavity thus made (at no point more than three or three-and-a-half feet from floor to ceiling) has often been used in the past as an *Ol-pul*[3] by the Masai. While taking shelter in this cave one day during a downpour of rain, a Dorobo told me the following tale.)

"A wart-hog once came here to rest. Finding the place warm and comfortable, he lay down and was speedily fast asleep. He awoke to find that a lion had entered the cave and was advancing on him with the intent to kill him, for wart-hogs and lions are deadly enemies. The wart-hog brought all his wits to bear on the matter of making his escape, for he greatly feared the lion, who was very big and strong. Suddenly an idea came to his mind, and standing on his hind-legs, he pretended to support the roof of the cave with his tusks, calling out meantime in a frightened voice: 'Lion, lion, come and help me to hold up the roof, as it is falling and we shall both be killed!' The lion, deceived, hastened to the spot and

[1] This fact has, I understand, been authenticated. I have never seen eland performing the act, but an examination of the frontal tuft of a mature bull eland will lead one to believe in the assertion. Cf. *The Journal of a Disappointed Man* (W. H. P. Shelvankar), p. 191: "*The common Eland is known to moisturize the tuft of hair on the crown of its head, and it does this habitually, when lying down, by bending its head around and down—apparently because of the serious, perhaps of actual impotence during mating time, as it is a habit of the male alone.*"

[2] Cf. *Kamp*: Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 256-258.

[3] Slaughter-house. The place in the woods where the Masai warriors go to eat meat.

Z: Magazine G-4 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
F'LA Dorobo F'LA
Wasso: F'L 15.

supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: "You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up." The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realized that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)*

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.* The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an almost light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

The Dorobo and the Cow.—The Dorobo is an impatient man. Once he was given a cow, and some days afterwards this cow was covered by a bull. The Dorobo waited a month. Then he waited another month. He tried to milk the cow, but no milk would come. He thereupon said: "What sort of a cow is this? It will not give birth; it has no milk; it is altogether unsatisfactory." He then went away to sleep, saying: "Perhaps it will have given birth by the time it is morning." In the morning, all was as it had been before and the efforts of the Dorobo to milk the cow met with no more success. The Dorobo, who was determined at least to obtain milk, thereupon seized his knife and split up the cow's udder (for all Dorobo are impatient men), but no milk came, and his knife penetrating too deeply, the intestines of the cow fell out and it died. The Dorobo was very surprised and said: "This is a bad kind of cow and I do not understand it." He then proceeded to eat the meat until it was all finished.

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Wanderobo* folk-lore and folk-tales and those of the Masai as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Wanderobo* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Wanderobo* must

* [illegible] (cf. p. 91).
* For further examples of this see Hollis.

J:Magpie G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

have lived in the country of the Kittie Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not so friendly or so ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mikire*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mikire* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is spilt is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only effectual way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is reported as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Dalalega* and no *Kinyalelgut* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Dalalega* or *Kinyo-*

[1] See Kittie: *The Wonk*, p. 80. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

[172] indget who lead a life of hunting. These people (being Masai and Ti-Okiep, if my conclusions are not erroneous) are pastoralists at heart, and nearly all the elders have their own small herds of cattle to-day. As for the younger generations, they are now Masai and Ti-Okiep respectively to all outward seeming.

The *Aramanik* (in the Meipo area) are also rapidly becoming Masai, and my failure to glean more information about them may be attributed to this cause. My opportunities for investigating the *Aramanik* of the northern areas (O-mdjoko L'ulatwo,[1] and round the northern end of Eyasi lake) have been extremely limited, but it would seem that they are far less susceptible to Masai influence than are their brethren at Meipo and Lo'sokumot. The *Aramanik* present a definite problem, and I think it will be agreed that their possession of a [173] distinct language and the very meagre information about them contained in this paper warrant further investigation with the promise of interesting results. It may be that their identity will be obvious to some people. I am not prepared to put [174] forward any theory as to their origin and how they came to occupy the areas they live in to-day, but I am convinced that they are not Masai, as are the *Dalatiga*.

The *Kitokwelo* and *Kimonjore* Dorobo (if these be their true names) might also repay investigation. They certainly differ from the other types of Dorobo dealt with here.

Among the *Mbiuru* Masai influence waxes yearly, and in time they, too, will cease to exist as a separate people. The comparatively high prices the Masai are willing to pay for *Mbiuru* women; the fact that the Masai are always ready to employ the younger *Mbiuru* men as herds; the stricter enforcement by Government of the Game Laws; all these factors contribute to the abandonment of bush life by the *Mbiuru*, who are busy [175] but far from unoccupied.

I believe the *Mbiuru* to have been very closely allied to the Masai at one time, if they were not pure Masai.[2] The evidence of language would seem to be indisputable, but it is a more

[1] Ngorongoro locations. These Dorobo are entirely distinct from the *Aramanik*, notices about by Mr. F. J. Magdonnell (see note 1, p. 258).
[2] See Hobley: The Akamba, p. 6.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

difficult matter to explain how the *Médzo* of Talamai penetrated so far south—assuming them to have been Nandi originally. In addition to the other points of resemblance between the *Médzo* and the Nandi that may have been noted throughout this paper, it may be of interest to state that the *Médzo* possess and use a four-stringed lyre[1] of much the same shape and construction as that illustrated on p. 39 of Sir Claud Hollis's work on the Nandi. The *Médzo* are skilful performers on this lyre, which is quite foreign to the Masai. The other Nandi musical instruments (with the exception of the war-horn) are not known to the *Médzo*, as far as I have been able to discover.

I have said elsewhere that the bulk of the Kenya Dorobo would seem (according to the statements made by the Dorobo from whom the present information has been derived) to be *Aramanik* and *Baledga*. This was with reference to the Dorobo living among the Kenya Masai and was not intended to include such Dorobo as there may be among the Nandi to-day.

On one occasion I was lured to walk over twenty miles by the promise of being shown some "rock-paintings" alleged to have been made by the *Médzo* or other Dorobo and to be extremely ancient. My informant assured me that no man could remember the time when they had been done and that the cave in which they were was regarded with great reverence throughout the countryside. I went, only to discover that the place was a disused *Ol-pul* and that the paintings (most of them were of Masai shields, but some were of a character bordering on the lascivious) had obviously been made by Dorobo or Masai Morans within the last five years or so.[2] Some were even fresher. Charcoal, red ochre, lime and wood-ash were the mediums used.

To the casual observer (particularly one new to Africa) the Dorobo, Masai, Kavirondo, Congo and even the Arusha warrior when in panoply might all seem to belong to the same tribe. To the habituated eye there would be many differences readily

[1] *Kipkwonde* (Nandi); *Mwanda* (Akamba).

[2] When the Masai Morans go into *Ol-pul*, they are often accompanied by one or more Dorobo, generally *Médzo*. The duties of the latter are to guard the Masai warriors' loot, cook and make themselves generally useful. Their reward is as much meat as they can consume.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

apparent, but the outstanding dissimilitude, curiously enough, would seem to me to be the variations in the several manners of speaking Kiswahili. The pronunciation of the Kwavi, once heard, is never forgotten. It is nasal and unmelodious, with invariable pauses after such words as "but" and "and." The Dorobo method is characteristically lazy. Syllables to which the full value could quite easily be given are slurred over for no apparent reason. *Kutapika* commonly becomes *Kuta'i'a*. *Faru* is often rendered *Faoo*—but this may be due to Wanguu influence.[1] The Kiswahili-speaking Masai is more correct and enterprising. He often acquires curious words and expresions, and by virtue of his volubility and his employment of peculiar constructions cannot be mistaken. The Arusha speaks like the Kwavi, but without the pervasive nasal quality.

It is hard to differentiate on paper, but in conversation with representatives of the tribes mentioned the average European ear will not fail to detect the differences after a little experience.

Note.—I regret very much that owing to my inability to read German I have not been able to refer fully to Merker's well-known work[2] on the Masai, which contains much useful and interesting matter concerning the Dorobo.

R. A. J. MAGUIRE.

[1] [*Faru* is sometimes heard in Kenya Colony. It is a well-known tendency in Kiswahili—somewhat exaggerated by the Akamba—to drop intervocalic consonants, especially *l* and *r*.—A. W.]

[2] Merker: *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1910).